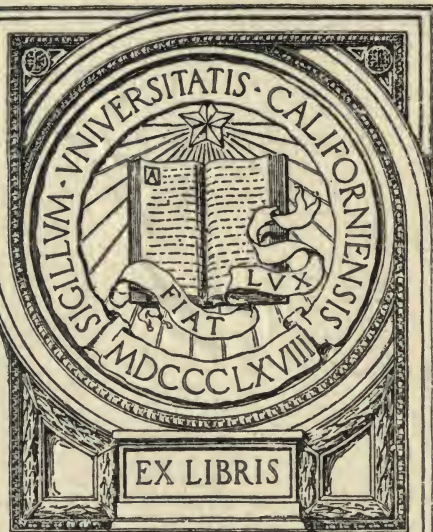


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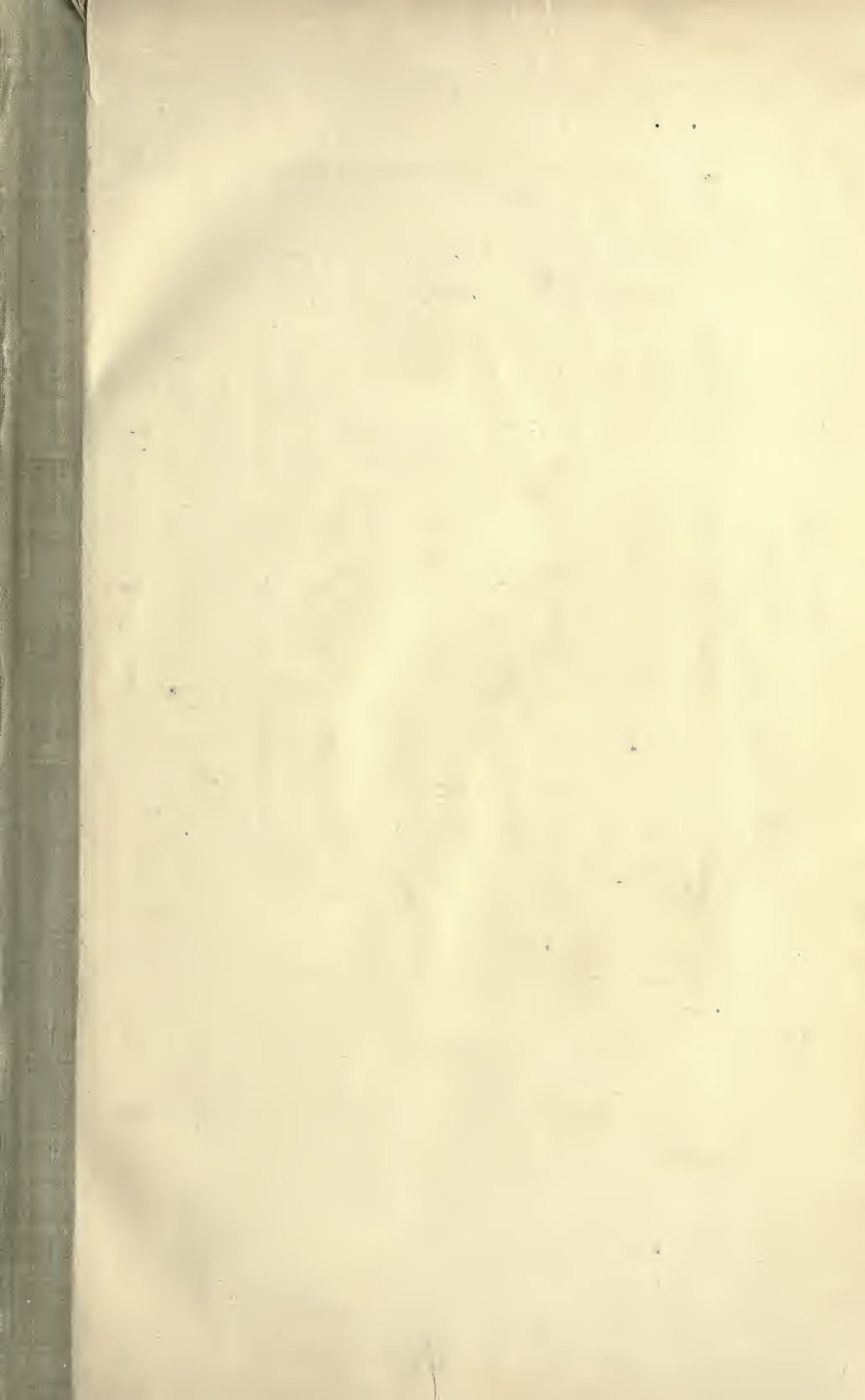


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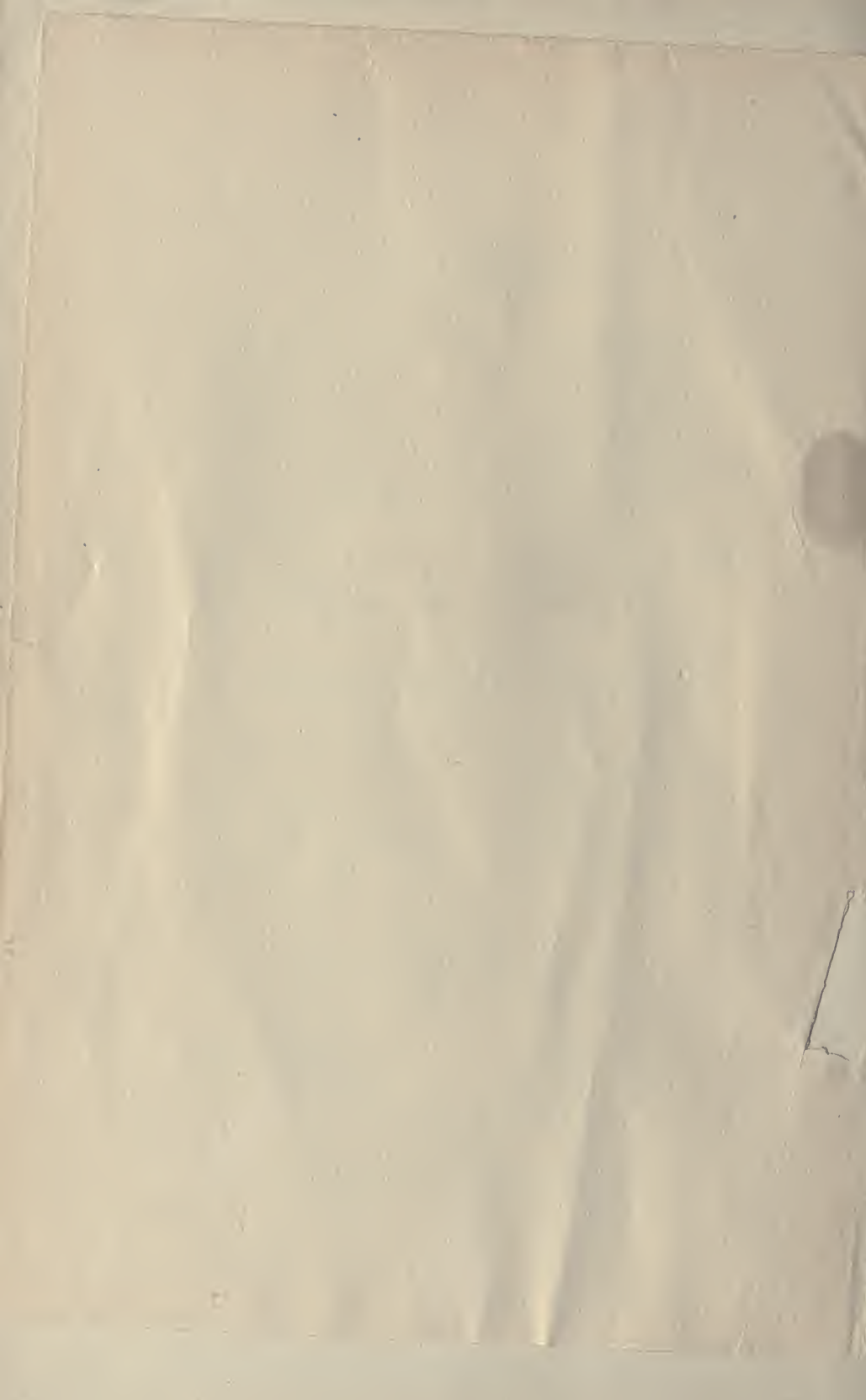
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Relation of Southern Ohio to the South
During the Decade Preceding the
Civil War

By

DAVID CARL SHILLING, M. A.

CINCINNATI, OHIO
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THE RELATION OF SOUTHERN OHIO TO THE SOUTH DURING THE DECADE PRECEDING THE CIVIL WAR.

The aim of this study is to ascertain as nearly as possible what forces were tending to bind the people of the southern part of Ohio with those of the slave states just south of the Ohio river: to approximate the strength of such forces, and by means of these, to produce a key which will enable us to see the situation as men saw it two generations ago. By southern Ohio we mean that part of the state which lies south of the old National Road. This line is selected because for many years it was to Ohio politics what Mason and Dixon's line was to national politics—a line of cleavage.

Although sectionalism is not our theme, yet it seems necessary at the outset to point out that on the slavery question in the state were those whose views ranged from a desire for a qualified form of slavery to immediate abolition. Ohio is at once the home of the Western Reserve and the Virginia Military District—the former settled by New Englanders whose hatred for slavery was deep seated, the latter populated mainly by sons of the South, especially from Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. To be sure, some of these settlers came here to escape from the curse of slavery, and were its bitter opponents. This is especially true of the Quakers who left for free soil.¹ On the other hand many—a large majority—because of kinship, political, commercial and social relations, were passive on the question of slavery, at least during the first third of the nineteenth century.

It seems logical, therefore, to begin our study with an analysis of the progenitors of the people of this section who were active in the affairs of the period immediately preceding the War.

¹See S. B. Weeks: Southern Quakers and Slavery.

By taking the "pioneer sketches" in the county histories it will be found that from a third to a half of the pioneers were of Southern birth.²

The political activity of this southern element is apparent. Nearly all writers of this period state that this element was more aggressive than the people of the upper part of the state, and as a result, they dominated the politics of the state down to the middle fifties. Taking the period of 1821 to 1830 as a whole, one-third of the members of the state legislature was of southern birth.³ As late as 1845 nearly one-fifth of the legislators was born on slave soil.⁴ In Adams county five of the first ten judges came from the South. Of the first twenty-seven governors of Ohio, seven were born across the river.⁵ Of the twenty-seven United States senators down to Joseph Foraker (1896) the South furnished one-third, Virginia alone giving six of her sons.⁶ In the last year of the Civil war one-fifth of the state senate was of southern birth.⁷ In 1850 a little less than eight percent of the entire population of the state was of southern birth. Ten years later it had fallen to a little more than six percent of the total population.⁸ The census of 1870 showed that there were 53000 Virginia-born residents of the section under consideration. The figures for Kentucky and Maryland would aggregate those for Virginia. At the same time we should not forget to point out that Pennsylvania had more sons on Ohio soil than all the slave states combined.⁹ Counting the native adult male population only, in 1840, one-fourth of the people of Cincinnati was born south of the Mason-Dixon line.¹⁰ By 1850 the ratio of southern-born to those born elsewhere had fallen one-half.¹¹

²Adams County shows 35%; Brown, 43%; Clinton, 70%; Clermont, 48%; Montgomery, 70%; and Pickaway, 57%. These percentages are based on a pioneer list averaging 170 persons per County.

³Chaddock: Ohio before 1850, Col. Univ. Stud., Vol. 31, p. 44.

⁴Cist: Cincinnati Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 199.

⁵Ryan: History of Ohio.

⁶Taylor, W. A.: Ohio in Congress.

⁷Stagg Abr. Pamphlet F 892Z, Wis. Hist. Library.

⁸Computed from censuses of 1850 and 1860.

⁹Census of 1850 showed that 153,756 persons in Ohio were born on slave soil. In 1860 the number fell to 134,883. Pa. in 1850 had 200,634 to her credit, and in 1860, 174,764.

¹⁰Cist, Cincinnati in 1841, p. 39. At the same time Pa. furnished $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹¹Cist, Cin. 1851. Ratio of colored to white in Cin., 1 to 36. In Columbus ratio was 1 to 14.

The above figures and comparisons are offered to show that the southern-born element was an influential factor in the political life of the state. That the aggressiveness of this element prevented laws friendly to the negro will appear further along in this work. This element sustained the "Black Laws," which lasted throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

POLITICS OF SOUTHERN OHIO.

In 1848 the Whigs carried this section by more than 10,000 votes, but in 1852 and also in 1856 it went Democratic, the former year by 3,800 and the latter by 8,800 votes. With four tickets in the field in 1860 this section gave Douglas a majority of 300. An analysis of the elections of 1848 to 1860 reveals many shades of party principles. Here one-third of the Free Soil vote of Ohio was polled in 1852. This section cast four-fifths of the American Party's vote in Ohio in 1856, and three-fifths of the Constitutional Union party's vote in 1860. The Republican party polled 37 per cent of its Ohio vote in this section in 1856 and 38 per cent in 1860.¹²

The Scioto Valley was Whig in 1852, but went Democratic in 1856, save Scioto county, which, strange to say, was carried by the Free Soil party. Of the thirty-five counties included in this study, twenty were Whig in 1852. Four years later thirteen of them were Republican, while in 1860 Lincoln carried twenty-four of them.

The state election of 1861 showed very little change in the strength of the parties from 1860, but in the election of the following year, the great falling off from the Republican party reveals the strength of the opposition to the war.¹³ In this election the Republican party lost eleven counties. This reduced the Republican strength to practically the Fremont vote; in fact there is a striking resemblance between the election maps of 1856 and 1862.¹⁴

The Republican counties in 1856 consisted of two groups, with six contiguous counties in each group, and one isolated county in the southwestern part of the state. One group lay

¹²Compiled from the Whig Almanac.

¹³See election maps in Appendix A.

¹⁴Compare maps in Appendix A.

just below the National Road along the southeastern boundary line of Ohio. The other group was situated between the Scioto and the Great Miami rivers. Of these thirteen counties, all save one had been Whig in 1852.

The figures above show that the Free Soil party cast a rather light vote in the section under review. This party carried Clinton county in 1853 and in Meigs county the same year it cast 35 per cent of the total vote. On the other hand, Lawrence county did not poll a Free Soil vote in the gubernatorial election of 1851. At the same time Butler county with a voting population of 5,000 cast but two Free Soil votes. Pickaway county also cast two Free Soil votes of a total of 4,000 votes. In 1853 Perry county with a voting strength of 6,375 cast but 78 Free Soil votes. The American Party polled one-third of the Scioto county vote in 1857. Hamilton county (Cincinnati county-seat) consistently voted Democratic until 1860, when Lincoln carried it by less than one thousand from a total of 35,000 votes.¹⁵

The vote for Mr. Lincoln and the response to his call for troops "to preserve the Union" lead one to conclude that when the perpetuity of the Union was at stake, the men of this section who previously had been loath to insult the slaveholders now saw but one line of duty—to fight for the maintenance of the Union.¹⁶

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEGRO.

By a famous clause of the Ordinance of 1787, slavery was forbidden in the Northwest Territory from which Ohio became a state in 1803. The territorial legislature as early as 1799 was asked to permit slavery in the Virginia Military District—a reserve tract for Virginia soldiers of the Revolution.¹⁷ A second petition to the same effect followed two years later, but both were unheeded.

According to a reliable authority,¹⁸ more than one hundred propositions relating to the negro were presented to the Constitutional Convention of 1802. The real significance of this

¹⁵Compiled from Whig Almanac.

¹⁶For the break-down of parties, see below the "Call to Arms."

¹⁷See Map 1, Appendix A.

¹⁸Chaddock (above cited).

movement is revealed when we consider that there were but 337 negroes in the proposed state. A motion to grant citizenship and the franchise to the negro resulted in defeat only by the casting vote of the president of the convention, Mr. Tiffin, a native of Virginia.

The convention contained some delegates who thought that slavery would prove to be a beneficial factor in populating and building up the proposed state. Such members professed to see a way to secure slavery in Ohio in spite of the prohibitory clause of the Ordinance of 1787. They claimed that the prohibition was binding only while the territorial status remained and that when any part of the territory became a state it was free to act in this matter.¹⁹ Although many of the delegates were willing to test the prohibitory clause of the Ordinance on a temporary or qualified slavery, yet Cutler's clause prohibiting slavery passed in committee 5 to 4, and in convention by one vote.

The question of negro suffrage was before the convention of 1802. The Committee on the Elective Franchise reported on the basis of white male suffrage. A motion asking that the word "white" be struck out lost by five votes.²⁰

The enemies of the free negro very nearly caused a clause to be written in the constitution which would have made his lot an unenviable one. The proposed Section 7 is of sufficient importance to warrant its insertion in full: "No Negro or Mulatto shall ever be eligible to any office, civil or military, or give their [sic] oath in any court of justice against a white person, be subject to do military duty, or pay a poll tax in this state; provided always, and it is fully understood and declared that all negroes and mulattoes, now in, or who may hereafter reside in this state, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens of this state, not excepted by this constitution."²¹ What the latter part of this section means, nobody took time to explain. This section passed by a vote of 19 to 16, but was later recalled by a vote of 17 to 16.²²

What the constitution of 1802 did for the negro is well expressed by Hickok: "To any one reading the constitution of

¹⁹Debates of Const. Conv. 1802, cited by Hickok, Chap. 11.

²⁰Minutes, p. 21.

²¹Minutes, p. 31-32.

²²Ibid, p. 37.

1802 it is clear that the framers intended the negro to occupy the same relation to the government that the Indian or unnaturalized foreigner did. They were permitted to live in the state and the protection of the laws was offered them, but in the government of the state they had no part. Civic duties were not to be demanded of them nor any of the distinctive privileges of a citizen to be allowed them."²³

That the negro was an unwelcome resident of Ohio is proven by the so-called Black Laws—a series of laws in force until 1849—which dealt very harshly with the negro. One provision of the Act of 1804 gave the resident negroes 20 days to secure a \$1500 bond signed by two approved men who also guaranteed their behavior and support. For a quarter of a century this law remained a dead letter, but in 1829 the authorities of Cincinnati decided to enforce it. The negroes were given thirty days to comply with the provisions of this act. They sent a deputation to Canada to learn what sort of treatment would be given them there, but before the committee returned the thirty days expired. Another thirty days was granted, but before the return of the committee the city was in the throes of mob rule which lasted three days.²⁴ A few days later, upon receipt of favorable news from Canada eleven hundred negroes, or one-half the whole colored population, left for the British Dominion.²⁵ Another provision of the Act of 1804 forbade negro testimony in cases where whites were a party; however he was allowed to swear to his signature in case of a suit for debt.²⁶

The river counties were profiting by the existence of slavery to the south of them and were therefore reluctant to do anything that would offend their friends and customers who held slaves. Caleb Atwater saw the benefits that Cincinnati could derive from the slave system of adjacent states. Many instances show the close relationship that existed between the people of the river counties and those of the slave states, especially previous to 1850. In 1839, upon request from Kentucky

²³Hickok: *The Negro in Ohio*, p. 39.

²⁴Greve: *Hist. of Cin.*

²⁵Greve: *Hist. of Cin.*, Vol. I, p. 751, speaking of a race riot a little later, says, "The citizens in those days seemed more afraid of offending the slavery adherents than of the lawlessness of the criminal elements."

²⁶Act of 1804 was modified somewhat in 1807. For the repeal of the Black Laws see Hart's *Chase*, pp. 104-106.

and Virginia, Ohio passed a fugitive slave law. The vote in the House was 53 to 15, the opposition coming from the lake counties.

Many incidents might be cited to show the attitude of the people of Ohio toward the free person of color. For obvious reasons, the people of southern Ohio could not be very zealous in elevating the position of the negro without giving offense to their slaveholding friends across the river. Hence, while the commercial and social relations were dominating the thought of the people of the river counties their hostility to the negro is apparent. While this is true of the vast majority of people it is not true of all, because we find very ardent abolitionists in this section. The Underground Railroad also had several famous operatives in this region.

The case of Randolph's slaves will serve to prove Ohio's hostility toward the negro. By will, John Randolph of Virginia, liberated his 400 slaves. At the same time he provided for their removal to a farm which he had purchased for them in Mercer County, Ohio, a county north of the National Road, where as a rule the negro received better treatment than along the Ohio river. The reception given to these negroes is shown by the following resolutions:

(1) "*Resolved*; That we will not live among negroes; as we have settled here first we have fully determined that we will resist the settlement of blacks and mulattoes in this county to the full extent of our means, the bayonet not excepted.

(2) "*Resolved*; That the blacks of this county be and are hereby respectfully requested to leave the county on or before the first day of March, 1847, and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with this request, we pledge ourselves *to remove them* 'peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must'.

(3) "*Resolved*; That we who are here assembled pledge ourselves not to employ or trade with any black or mulatto person, in any manner whatever or permit them to have any grinding done at our mills after the first day of March next."²⁷

The colonization scheme had many adherents in southern Ohio. Judge Burnet of Cincinnati, in 1845 declared "a large proportion of the people of the Miami Valley are friendly to the colonization cause, and if called on would willingly contribute more or less to sustain it."²⁸

²⁷Report of the American Colonization Society, 1847, p. 10.

²⁸Report of the American Colonization Society, 1845, p. 22.

The Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1850 gave opportunity for much discussion of the negro question. The attitude of the southern counties is shown admirably by Mr. Green of Ross county. On a proposal to put a clause in the constitution to the effect that the legislature may authorize the colonization of the blacks in Africa he moved to strike out "may" and insert "shall." He frankly stated that he considered the presence of the blacks a nuisance, "especially to the people of the southern portion of the state and (that) the people of this portion of the state would submit to no tax more cheerfully than that by which they might get rid of this nuisance". He further stated that there was "no division of sentiment" in regard to the question, and that while the northern counties "could not by reason of their prejudice, understand why this is so", yet if they were to "come down and live amongst us they would get some information upon the subject, they would learn this fact: that we are opposed to elevating the blacks to the same rank with ourselves."²⁹

On the same day petitions from Jefferson, Brown and Hamilton counties asked for the prohibition of negro immigration. In addition to many petitions³⁰ bearing the signature of thousands of citizens asking that the doors of the state be closed against the negro, we find the following resolution by a Brown county delegate (Mr. London). Resolved, "That the committee on the elective franchise be instructed to inquire into the expediency of engrafting a clause into the constitution more effectually to prevent the emigration [sic] and settlement of negroes and mulattoes within the territory of this state."³¹ Perhaps the repeal of the Black Laws the year before indicated to the convention that the anti-negro sentiment was waning and this caused them to be more conservative on the negro question. A motion to permit the Legislature "to discourage" negro immigration was defeated by a vote of 39 to 34.³² A motion to allow the negro to serve in the militia lost 22 to 65.³³

During a debate on a petition which called for equal rights regardless of color, one delegate stated that he considered such

²⁹Debates of Const. Conv. of 1850, Vol II, p. 337.

³⁰Debates: Vol. I, p. 458, et seq.

³¹Debates: vol. I, p. 69.

³²Cited by Hickok, Chapter 11.

³³Ibid.

petition "an insult to the freemen of Ohio."³⁴ Mr. Kennon of Belmont county, presented a petition which asked that persons of African blood be denied the rights of suffrage and office-holding; that negro testimony should be waived in cases involving whites, and also that no part of a negro's property—personal or real—should be exempted in suits where either a white person or the state was involved.³⁵ From Brown county came a petition, generously signed, asking for the denial of negro testimony in cases where whites were a party. The writer found but one petition from a southern county that might be said to be friendly to the negro. A Greene county petition bearing thirty signatures asked that the property of colored persons be exempted from taxation until the negroes were given the franchise.³⁶ A motion empowering the Legislature to extend the suffrage at its discretion was defeated by a vote of 11 to 68.³⁷ It is interesting to note that while there were few favors shown to the negro, yet when it came to the basis of representation, even the southern delegates were in favor of counting him. The basis for representation was to be ascertained by dividing the whole population by one hundred.

Many other examples of petitions that were hostile to the negro could be given.³⁸ Even the judicious Daniel Drake thought the Legislature should have power to prevent any further entrance of the blacks. The following memorial from Butler county was perhaps the most hostile. "Gentlemen, we the undersigned citizens of Butler county, Ohio [34 in number] respectfully petition your honorable body and pray that provision may be made in the constitution which you are now framing for the removal of all persons of negro or part negro blood from the state of Ohio. And also that such other and further provision may be made by preventing the influx of immigration of negroes as will eventually restore to the people of Ohio a population of free white people and none other." After speaking of "prudence and humanity" and that property rights should be compensated, it concluded, "but whatever may be the consequence to the negroes, the happiness and welfare of

³⁴Debates: vol. I, p. 107.

³⁵Debates: vol. I, p. 236.

³⁶Ibid, p. 298.

³⁷Cited by Smith: *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, p. 337.

³⁸See Debates: vol. I, 458, 11, 5, 140, 158, 339 and 459.

the white race, both as to present and future generations, require the removal, and therefore, it should be done."³⁹

Recalling the strength of the anti-slavery movement in 1850, one is apt to agree with a recent writer that "in Ohio, the state where the anti-slavery men might have been expected to make a good fight, there was surprisingly little struggle in the convention of 1850-51."⁴⁰ The absence of "a good fight" becomes all the more noticeable when we learn that there were seven Free Soil delegates in the convention.

Notwithstanding the failure to equalize the rights of the whites and blacks, the race hatred was dying slowly yet surely. The compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill were influential factors in building up anti-slavery sentiments in Ohio. The Underground Railroad was systematically violating the Fugitive Slave Law. A Scioto county newspaper called the Kansas-Nebraska Bill a "swindle." It stated that the editor had not heard "a single individual express an approval of it."⁴¹ During the discussion of the bill the same paper in calling a mass meeting stated that a large meeting was desired "to remonstrate against that outrage."⁴² Upon the passing of the bill its wrath burst out anew upon the Ohio men who had supported the measure.⁴³

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

Physiographic and other conditions determined that the Ohio Valley should be of great commercial importance. The valley possessed raw materials in abundance; the tariff stimulated manufacturing; the Ohio and its tributaries furnished the means of transportation, and the South into which this natural highway led—the market for the finished product.

In fact, the commercial interests of southern Ohio were furthered by the expansion of slavery with its specialized production of cotton which created markets for food products and manufactured articles. Thus free labor in the North was ac-

³⁹Debates: vol. I, p. 191.

⁴⁰Smith: Liberty and Free Soil Parties, p. 236.

⁴¹Scioto Gazette, Chillicothe, O., Jan. 28, 1854.

⁴²Ibid, Mar. 14.

⁴³Ibid, See issue of May 30.

celerated by the extension of slave labor in the South, and the steamboat as a medium served the economic interests of both sections. Several prominent writers of the day frankly admitted that southern Ohio was benefitted by slavery. Caleb Atwater states that the people of Cincinnati "were extremely reluctant to take a hostile attitude toward the South. Continued social and commercial relations,—visits, intermarriages, friendships and commercial interests—make her people feel as if those beyond the river were her kin."⁴⁴ In the same strain writes James Parton: "Cincinnati was the Old Hunker's paradise. Separated from a slave state only by a river a third of a mile wide, with her leading families connected by marriage with those of Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland, and her business men having important relations with the South, there was no city—not even Baltimore—that was more saturated with the spirit of Hunkerism—that horrid blending of vanity and avarice which made the Northern people equal sharers in the guilt of slavery while taking the lion's share of the profit."⁴⁵ Professor Hart tells us that in many respects "Cincinnati was a southern city on free soil; the southern buyer gladdened the heart of the merchant; the southern traveler and his family took the best rooms in the hotels; and in times of crisis southern sympathy for slavery was visible in the newspapers."⁴⁶

In order to maintain this close relationship, abolition sentiment had to be throttled. Wendell Phillips was driven from the stage in Pike's Opera House, but the same people permitted William L. Yansey, the fire-eater of Alabama, "to utter the most bitter disloyal tirade, with threats against the north, without a whisper of dissent from an audience of three thousand."⁴⁷ As early as 1826 Cincinnati was becoming a summer resort for wealthy planters of Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi. "It may be supposed," say Drake & Mansfield, "that the period is not remote when many of the wealthy planters and professional gentlemen of the South will have their summer villas within the environs of Cincinnati." It is pointed out that those who do not wish to be without the luxury of their slaves

⁴⁴Atwater: History of Ohio, p. 344.

⁴⁵Atlantic Monthly; Aug., 1867, p. 232.

⁴⁶Hart: Chase (Am. St. Sr.), p. 14.

⁴⁷Howe: Hist. Coll. of Ohio, vol. I, p. 765.

may reside in Covington, Kentucky, and still enjoy the advantages of the city.⁴⁸

The magnitude of the trade between Cincinnati and vicinity and the South may be seen from the following table, which shows the destination of her exports in 1850.⁴⁹

Commodity.	To New Orleans.	Other Down R. Ports.	Up R. Ports.
Beef bbls.....	19319	68	314
Beef tcs.....	8677	8	657
Butter bbls.....	1850	867	2
Cheese.....	69278	48432	2165
Flour bbls.....	281609	95943	7719
Lard bbls.....	22854	117	3277
Whisky bbls.....	140661	56164	31231
Pork hhds.....	19044	1313	8809
Pork bbls.....	112622	1050	3801

The export trade of Cincinnati with the South remained quite active down to 1860. However by the middle fifties railroad connection with the East turned a large share of her exports eastward.

The importation of southern staples into Cincinnati increased greatly during the decade preceding the war. In 1850 the value of imported cotton was 385 thousand dollars; in 1860 it reached 4525 thousand. The value of sugar imported into Cincinnati increased from 1.6 million dollars in 1850 to 4.2 millions in 1860.⁵⁰

There were several resemblances between southern Ohio and the Blue Grass region of Kentucky,—so much so that one is inclined to think that if natural conditions had prevailed both would have had the same domestic institutions. In fact it was *law* alone that made one slave and the other free.

One point of resemblance is found in the size of the farms. We expect to find many large farms,—plantations in the slave states, but in the free states there was a strong tendency for the older sections to become regions of small farms. In spite of the fact that southern Ohio was settled earlier than the upper part of the state, we find it containing a relatively larger share of the large farms. The census of 1860 showed that the state

⁴⁸Drake and Mansfield: Cin. in 1826, p. 36.

⁴⁹Hunt: Merchant's Magazine, vol. XXV, p. 488.

⁵⁰See Appendix B.

had 485 farms containing from 500 to 1000 acres each, and 112 farms of over 1000 acres each. The 35 counties of this section—less than half the area of the state—contained 53% of the 500 acre farms and 67% of those containing 1000 acres or more.⁵¹ As might be anticipated, much grazing and stock raising was carried on in this section. Of the counties which had live stock valued at a million dollars or more in 1860 one-half of them are found south of the National Road.⁵²

Another point of resemblance between both banks of the Ohio lay in the culture of tobacco. This industry grew enormously during the decade preceding the war. In 1850 the state crop was 10½ million pounds; in 1860 it was 25 million pounds more than one-half of which was raised in three counties of our section.⁵³ To raise so much tobacco, required many laborers, a part of which was furnished by the slaveholders of Kentucky and other neighboring states. In the language of another, "numbers of slaves, as many as two thousand it was sometimes supposed, were hired in Southern Ohio from Virginia and Kentucky, chiefly by farmers."⁵⁴ This refers to a period "somewhere between 1830 and 1836." After that time there was a changed feeling on that question.⁵⁵

In the middle thirties Cincinnati planned to further her commercial hold upon the South by means of a railroad connecting that city with Charleston, South Carolina. Robert Y. Hayne was chairman of a railroad convention at Knoxville in 1836 to consider the project, but the panic of 1837 brought affairs to a standstill, and little more is heard of it.⁵⁶

Other illustrations of the commercial relation between southern Ohio and the South might be given, but enough has been given to prove that "the most distinctive characteristic of Cincinnati's commerce in the ante-bellum days was her great trade with the South."⁵⁷

⁵¹Compiled from Census 1860, vol. on agr., p. 211.

⁵²Compiled from census 1860, vol. on Agr., p. 113-115.

⁵³Monroe, Montgomery and Noble; census 1860.

⁵⁴King's Ohio. (Commonwealth series), p. 364.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Goodwin: Growth of Ohio, Cin. Univ. Stud. 1906, p. 118.

⁵⁷Ibid, p. 91.

RELIGIOUS RELATIONS.

We have seen how the question of negro slavery in a large manner determined the social, political and commercial activity of this section; it now remains to show that the slave question was a known quantity in the religious affairs of the same people.

No Methodist church in Cincinnati in 1841 would permit the Western Methodist Anti-slavery convention to assemble under its roof.⁵⁸ The split in the Methodist church in 1844 was caused solely by slavery, while the schism in the Presbyterian church in 1838 had doctrinal disputes as well as slavery for its causes. A sketch of the Synod of Ohio after giving various reasons for the separation continues, "a far more fruitful cause may be found in the discussions of an intensely exciting character on the subject of slavery. Here extreme views met, and the determination on the one side to have the subject considered and decided action taken against the evil, and on the other to shut it out entirely and to frown upon those who introduced it had not a little to do in preparing the latter party especially for an early separation."⁵⁹ Eight years earlier the Synod of Cincinnati had resolved that slavery was "a heinous sin and scandal."⁶⁰ The schism in the Lane Theological Seminary and the establishment of Oberlin College is too familiar to need attention here.⁶¹

The congregational churches were more active in their denunciation of slavery. For example, the Baptists of the Miami Association in 1847 resolved that slavery is "in opposition to the revealed will of God, against the law of nature, inimical to the principles of social organization and alike destructive to national prosperity, individual rights and the prosperity of our free institutions."⁶² The same meeting pledged itself "to use all lawful means" to remove an evil of such magnitude from our beloved country."

⁵⁸Cincinnati Gazette, Oct., 1841.

⁵⁹Hist. Sketch of the Synod of Ohio 1838 to 1868, p. 5-6.

⁶⁰Synod Minutes 1830.

⁶¹See Hart's Chase (Am. St. series), pp. 38-44.

⁶²Minutes of Miami Assoc. of Regular Baptists.

THE CALL TO ARMS.

The record of Ohio in the Civil War is one of which any state might be proud. During the war the state was called upon to furnish 306,322 men; the number furnished was 310,654, besides some colored troops which enlisted in Massachusetts regiments and some troops which filled Kentucky's quota, so it is safe to say that Ohio gave the nation a third of a million men to put down the rebellion.⁶³ And what is ever more cause for pride is the fact that of this vast multitude of men, but 8750 were drafted.

After discussing the relation between the river counties and the South, Mr. Reid states that above the National Road "different views prevailed, and the people tracing their ancestry to Puritan rather than Virginia stock, cherished different feelings, but the southern half of the state being more populous and more influential long controlled the elections and inspired the temper of the government and the legislation."⁶⁴

As late as April, 1861, the Legislature was quite conciliatory with the South. Even after the firing upon Fort Sumter, on a motion to vote a million dollars to arm the state, several legislators agreed with Judge Key, who thought the war to be an "unwarranted declaration" against seven "sister states." He protested vigorously against the policy announced by President Lincoln and declared it to be the dawn of a "military despotism", yet since he opposed secession he must stand by the stars and stripes. In the same anguish of spirit spoke a Butler county representative. He said to vote for the bill would be the most painful act of his life, "but there was only one course left; . . . he could do nothing else than stand by the grand old flag and stand by it to the end."⁶⁵

Party opposition broke quickly in the senate and the million dollar bill was passed with but one dissenting vote.⁶⁶ But in the House party opposition was harder to overcome, and a caucus was called by the Democratic members. On April 18th., however, the House passed the bill unanimously. In discussing

⁶³Whitelaw Reid: Ohio in the War, vol. II, p. 4.

⁶⁴Ibid, vol. I, p. 17.

⁶⁵Reid: vol. I, p. 21.

⁶⁶A Scioto Co. Senator: His constituency repudiated his action and asked him to change his vote.

the bill Devore of Brown county said that he regarded "the interests of the country south of the Ohio river as well as north of it."⁶⁷

As late as April 5, 1861, the people of Cincinnati allowed three cannon to pass through the city unmolested, although they were billed for the "Southern Confederacy."⁶⁸ The day before the firing upon Fort Sumter the citizens allowed a fugitive slave to be remanded to his owner. But here the story changes. The firing upon Sumter caused a mighty change. "With the firing upon Fort Sumter April 12, 1861, a spirit of vengeance for the insult to the flag seemed at once to take possession of the entire population. All thought of trade and money-getting were swept completely from the minds of the people, as in any northern city."⁶⁹

The records show that Cincinnati and Hamilton county responded nobly to Lincoln's call for troops. Parton says "the war regenerated Cincinnati" and that the energy which previously had been spent in amassing wealth now found new modes of expression.⁷⁰

CONCLUSION.

The physiography of the Ohio Valley is a factor not to be over-looked in the consideration of this question. Perhaps the Ohio river was not such a sharp dividing line as many have taken it to be. As Miss Semple points out, a river may be considered as a bridge, binding together the people on its opposite shores. Here, it may be, the historical and geographical aspects of the question conflict somewhat, yet it is an indisputable fact that before the days of the railroad and other artificial means of transportation, the physiographic union of the valley was a force of considerable magnitude tending toward unity of thought and action.

As long as the Whig and Democrat parties remained *truly national parties* they furnished a strong bond of union. It will be recalled that the last cord to break was the Democratic party. While the same might be said of any other section of

⁶⁷Reid: vol. I, p. 22.

⁶⁸Howe, vol. I, p. 765.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Atlantic Monthly; 1867, p. 232.

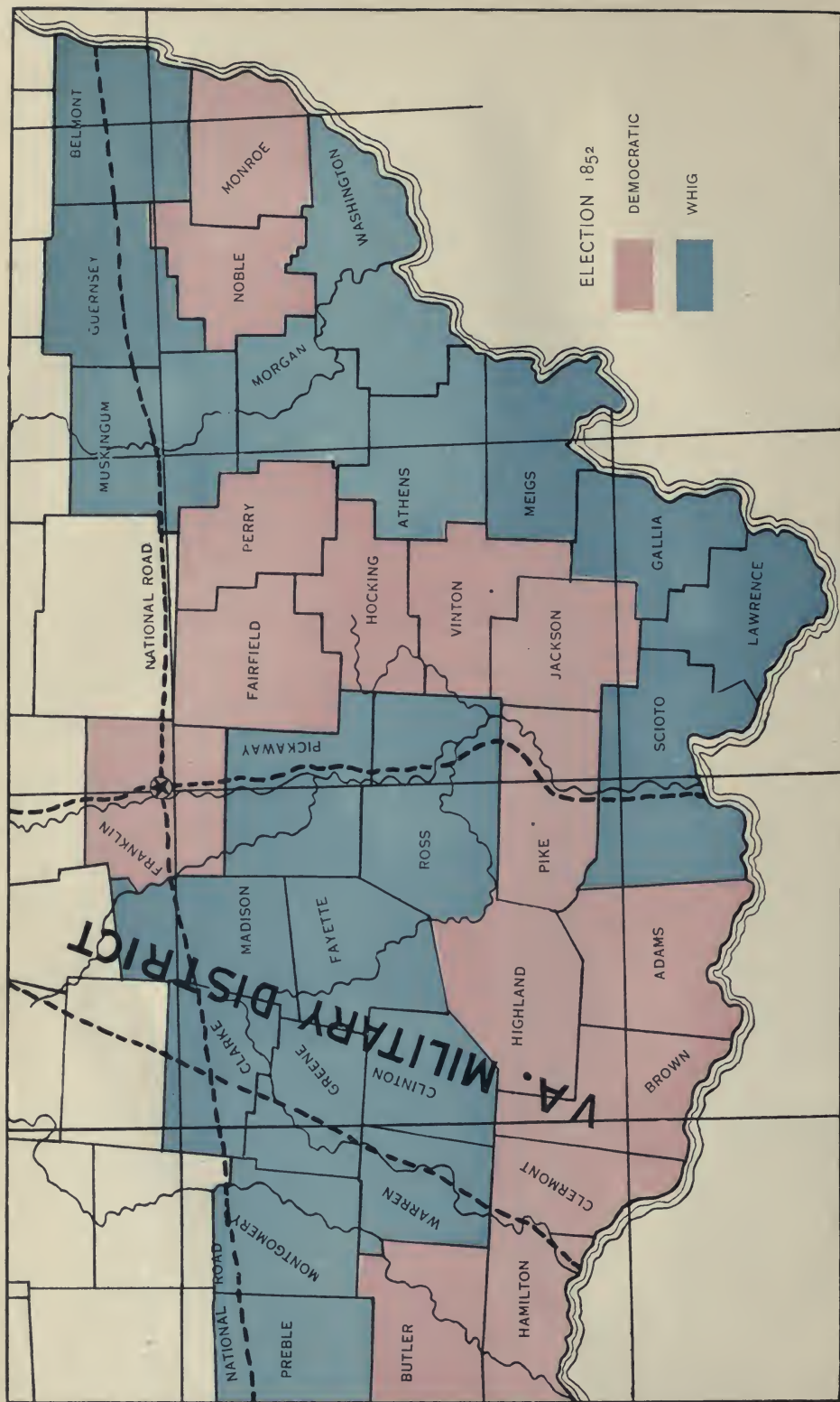
the North, yet in Southern Ohio it had a significance not found elsewhere save perhaps in the "Egypt" of Illinois. It was much easier for Cleveland to become anti-slavery than for Cincinnati to do so. Aside from the ancestral traits, there were material forces drawing the two rims of the Ohio valley together. The patrimony of many residents of Southern Ohio consisted of plantations and slaves, thus we find persons of free Ohio vitally interested in the question of slavery. Then too, the mere propinquity of the two peoples must not be lost sight of. Many facts conspired to make it more difficult to condemn slavery in the Virginia Military District than in the Western Reserve.

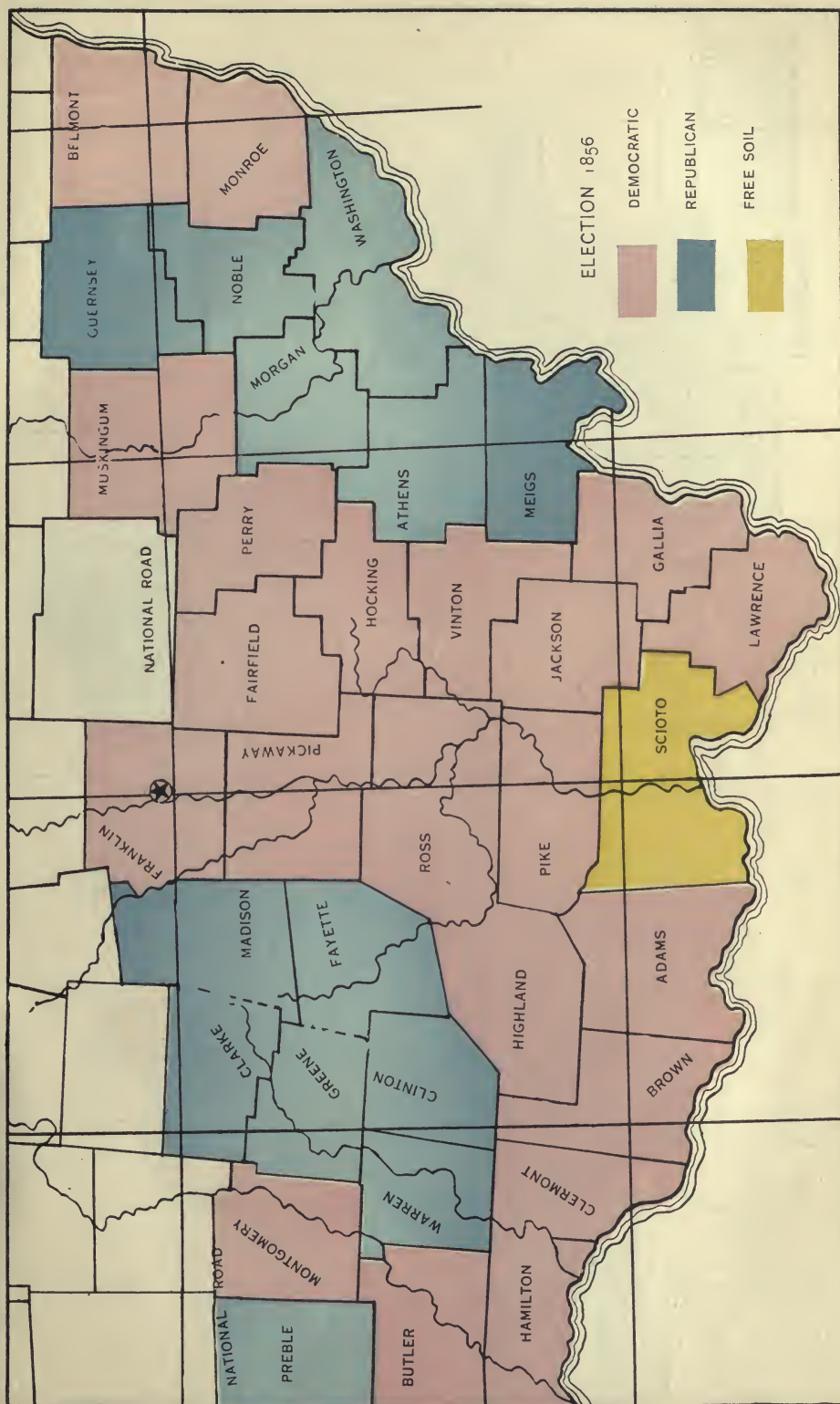
The commercial relation between the two sections of the valley was perhaps the strongest single force demanding a sort of *laissez faire* idea on the question of slavery. By the middle fifties the Ohio Valley and the East were connected by means of the railroad. There seem to be indications that this new channel of intercourse reflected itself somewhat in the relationship of lower Ohio toward the South. At any rate the people of Cincinnati and vicinity were less considerate of giving offense to the South in the late fifties. The Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Act served to arouse many in regard to the evils of slavery, yet throughout the decade there was a very close relation between the two sections.

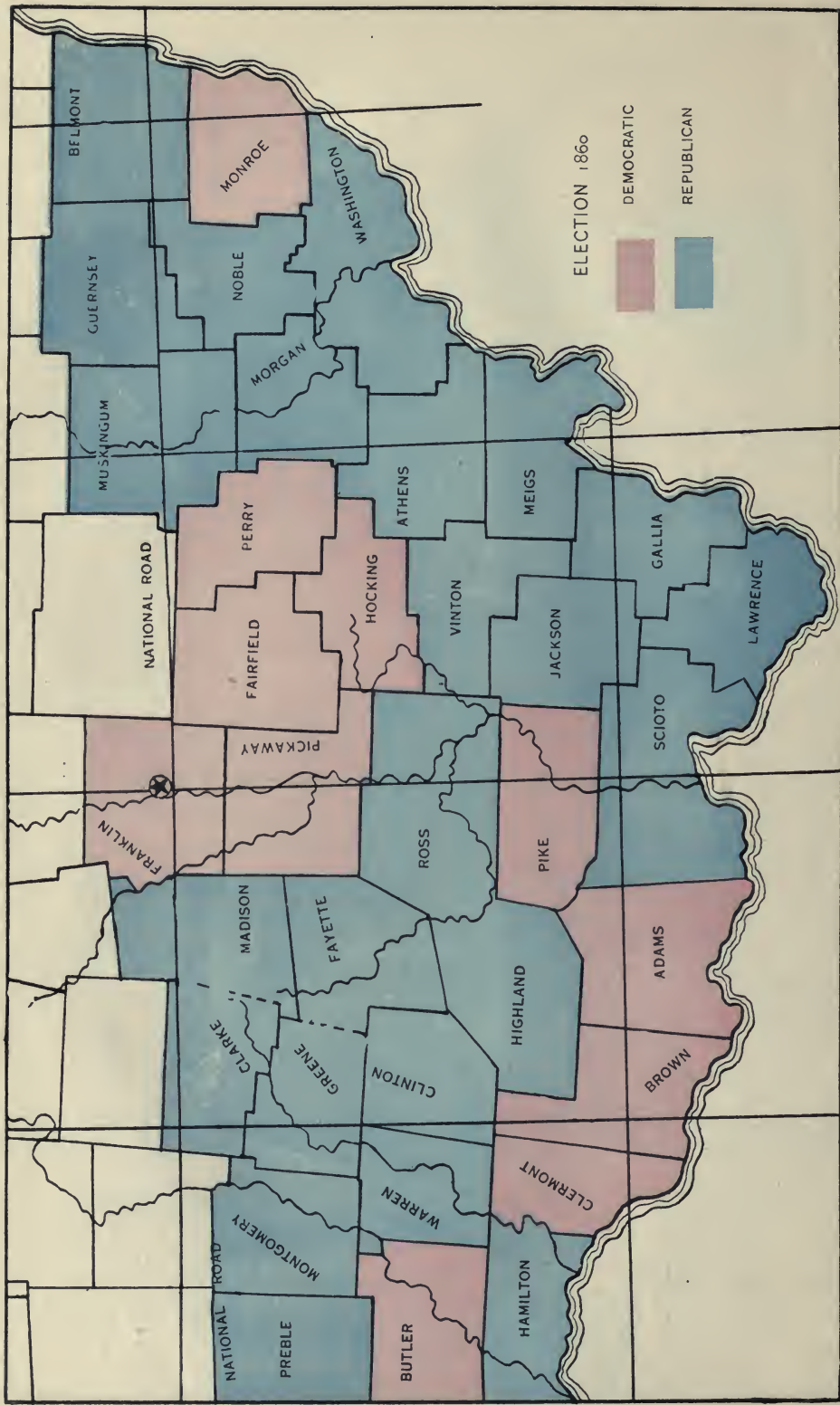
Practically all of the evidence shows that when the firing upon Fort Sumter brought affairs to a climax, the men of southern Ohio forgot their former temporizing attitude and were ready to do battle to preserve the Union they loved so dearly. The ready response to Lincoln's first call for volunteers and the absence of the draft during the war compel us to conclude that no section of the North did nobler service for the country in a titanic struggle which was to prove that there was no North, no South, but one country—the United States of America.

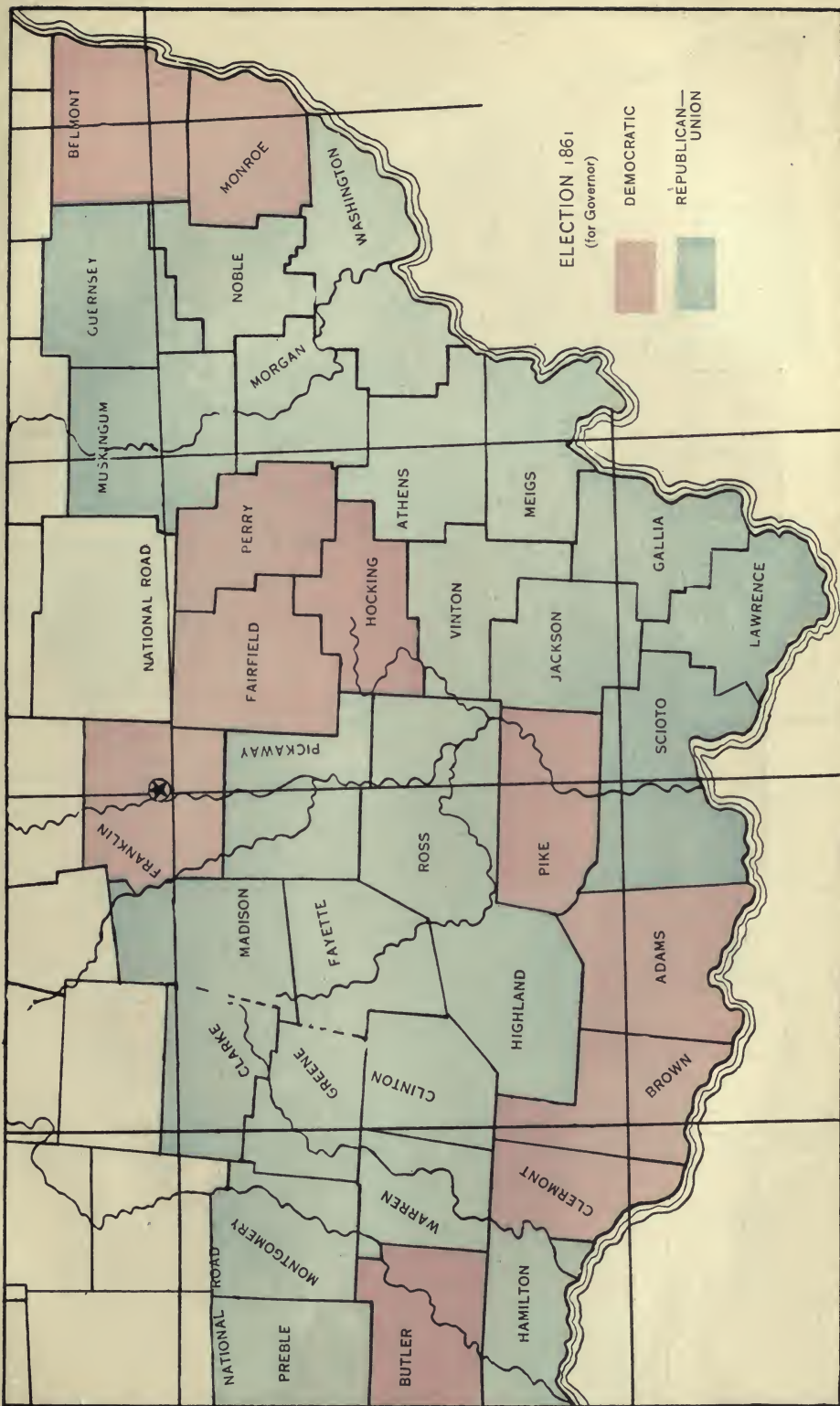
APPENDIX A.

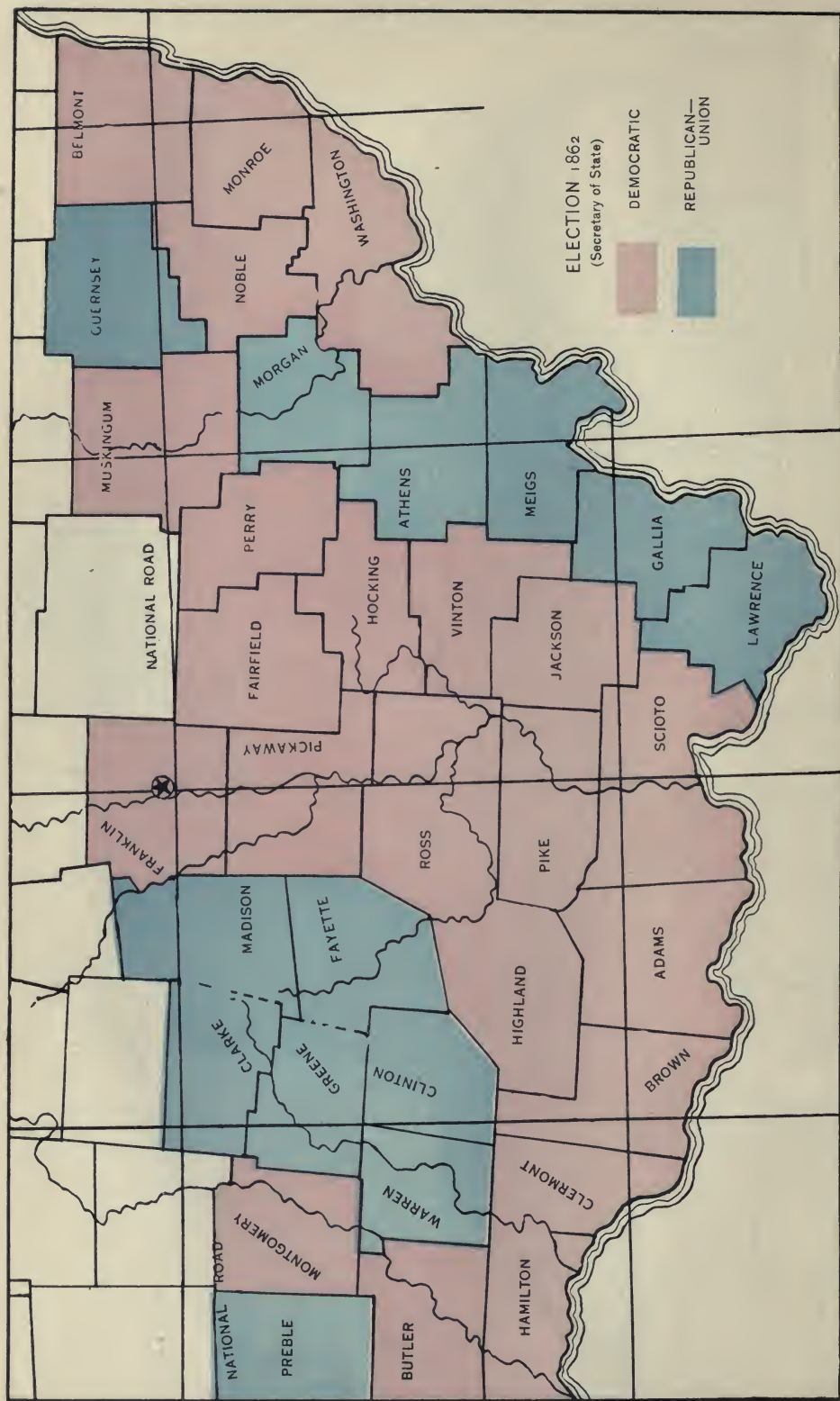
ELECTION MAPS 1-5.











APPENDIX B.

DESTINATION OF CINCINNATI EXPORTS.

NEW ORLEANS.

	1850	1853	1856	1859
Beef bbls.....	16423	23865	15226	13450
Cheese box.....	44388	52479	41643	37037
Candles box.....	41007	66123	75299	79696
Flour bbls.....	44290	202877	32648	9591
Lard bbls.....	34809	18874	2265	4447
Lard kegs.....	110635	65938	17708	15814
Pork hhds.....	16009	20225	7795	10173
Pork tcs.....	11902	.....	12407	12047
Pork bbls.....	172624	103636	50784	62844
Pork lbs.....	21500	139601	.....	.....
Whisky bbls.....	96712	129111	113547	113397
Butter kegs.....	24445	35890	19395	13917

Other down River markets would greatly add to southern trade, perhaps one-third to one-half.

DESTINATION OF CINCINNATI EXPORTS.

UP RIVER.

	1850	1853	1856	1859
Beef bbls.....	305	675	2730	908
Cheese box.....	1516	3685	2643	5266
Candles box.....	7466	32456	16648	6326
Flour bbls.....	8360	19013	179742	170912
Lard bbls.....	1341	10635	8783	6648
Lard kegs.....	11704	17769	16945	3006
Pork hhds.....	5086	18742	15948	8464
Pork tierces.....	6090	21408	10280	4308
Pork bbls.....	4492	862	24512	8570
Pork lbs.....	228400	888821	376615	277144
Whisky bbls.....	21945	56654	69639	36590
Butter kegs.....	.....	51	43	46

SOUTHERN IMPORTS TO CINCINNATI (IN THOUSANDS \$).

	1850	1853	1856	1859
Cotton.....	\$385	712	1310	2692
Rice.....	85	95	155	.....
Sugar.....	1600	2711	2915	5001
Molasses.....	594	1359	1108	980
Tobacco.....	1690	1570	152
Hemp.....	168	93	242	67

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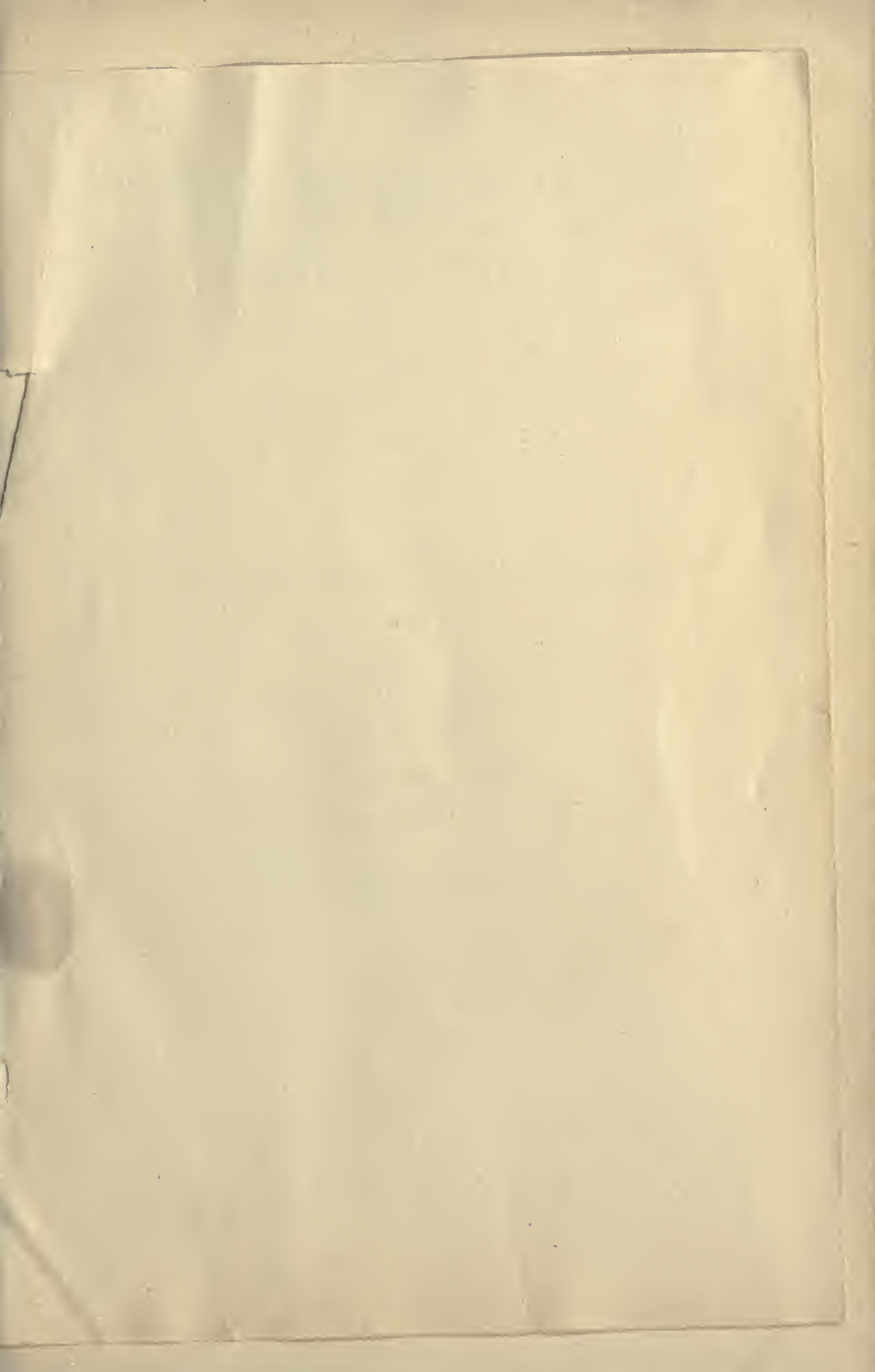
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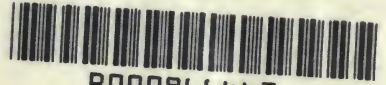
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